

SIR FRANCIS  
BACON HIS APOLO-  
GIE, IN CERTAINE  
imputations concerning the late

*Earle of Essex.*

*Am. Dyson*

VVritten to the right Hono-  
rable his very good Lord, the Earle  
*of Devonshire, Lord Lieute-  
nant of Ireland.*



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TO THE RIGHT  
HONORABLE HIS  
VERIE GOOD LORD, THE  
*Earle of Denonshire, Lord Lieu-  
tenant of Ireland.*



T may please your  
good Lordshippe: I  
cannot be ignorant,  
and ought to be sen-  
sible of the wrong  
which I sustaine in common speech,  
as if I had bene false, or vnthankfull  
to that noble, but vnfortunate Earle  
the Earle of *Essex*: and for satisfying  
the vulgar sort, I do not so much re-

gard it; though I loue good name,  
 but yet as an handmaid and atten-  
 dant of honestie and vertue. For I  
 am of his opinion that said pleasant-  
 ly, *That it was a shame to him that was*  
*a suter to the Mistresse, to make loue to*  
*the wayting woman;* and therefore to  
 woo or court common fame other-  
 wise then it followeth vpon honest  
 courses, I for my part, finde not my  
 selfe fit nor disposed. But on the o-  
 ther side, there is no worldly thing  
 that concerneth my selfe, which  
 I hold more deare, then the good o-  
 pinion of certaine persons; amongst  
 which there is none I would more  
 willingly giue satisfactiō vnto, then  
 to your Lordship. First, because you  
 loued my Lord of *Essex*, and there-  
 fore will not be partiall towards me;  
 which





which is part of that I desire : next,  
 because it hath euer pleased you to  
 shew your selfe to me an honora-  
 ble friend ; and so no basenesse  
 in me to seeke to satisfie you : and  
 lastly , because I know your Lord-  
 ship is excellently grounded in the  
 true rules and habits of duties and  
 moralities ; which must be they  
 which shal decide this matter: wher-  
 in ( my Lord ) my defence needeth  
 to be but simple and brieve: namely,  
 that whatsoeuer I did concerning  
 that action and proceeding , was  
 done in my dutie and seruice to the  
 Queene and the State ; in which I  
 would not shew my selfe false hear-  
 ted nor faint hearted for anie mans  
 sake liuing. For euerie honest man,  
 that hath his heart well planted, will

forſake his King rather then forſake  
 God, and forſake his friend rather  
 then forſake his King; and yet will  
 forſake any earthly commoditie, yea  
 and his owne life in ſome caſes, ra-  
 ther then forſake his friend. I hope  
 the world hath not forgotten theſe  
 degrees, elſe the heathen ſaying: *A-*  
*micus uſque ad aras*, ſhal iudge them.  
 And if any man ſhall ſay, that I did  
 officiouſly intrude my ſelf into that  
 buſineſſe, becauſe I had no ordinary  
 place; the like may be ſaid of all the  
 buſineſſe in effect that paſſed the  
 hands of the learned counſell, either  
 of State or Reuenues theſe many  
 yeares, wherein I was continually  
 uſed. For, as your Lordſhip may re-  
 member, the Queene knew her  
 ſtrength ſo well, as ſhe looked her

word

word should be a warrant; and after the manner of the choicest Princes before her, did not alwayes tye her trust to place, but did sometime deuide priuate fauor from office. And I for my part, though I was not so vnscene in the world, but I knewe the condition was subiect to enuie and perill; yet because I knew againe she was constant in her fauours, and made an end where she began, and specially, because shee vpheld mee with extraordinarie accessse, and other demonstrations of confidence and grace, I resolued to endure it, in expectation of better. But my scope & desire is, that your Lordship wold be pleased to haue the honourable patience, to know the truth in some particularitie of all that passed in this

cause wherein I had any part, that you may perceiue howe honest a heart I euer bare to my Soueraigne and to my Countrey, & to that Noble man, who had so well deserued of me, and so well accepted of my deseruings; whose fortune I cannot remember without much griefe. But for anie action of mine towards him, there is nothing that passed me in my life time, that cometh to my remembrance with more clearnesse and lesse checke of conscience: for it wil appeare to your Lordship, that I was not onely not opposite to my Lord of *Essex*, but that I did occupy the vtmost of my wits, and aduventure my fortune with the Queene to haue reintegrated his, and so continued faithfully and industriously  
till



till his last fatall impatience, (for so I wil call it) after which day there was not time to worke for him, though the same my affectiō when it could not worke vpon the subiect proper, went to the next, with no ill effect towards some others, who I thinke do rather not know it, then not acknowledge it. And this I will assure your Lordship, I will leaue nothing untold that is truth, for anie enemy that I haue to adde; & on the other side, I must reserue much which makes for me, vpon manie respects of dutie, which I esteeme aboue my credite: and what I haue here set downe to your Lordship, I protest, as I hope to haue any part in Gods fauour, is true.

It is wel knowne, how I did many

yeares since dedicate my trauels and studies to the vse & (as I may terme it) seruice of my Lord of *Essex*, which I protest before God, I did not, making election of him as the likeliest meane of mine owne advancement, but out of the humor of a man, that euer, from the time I had any vse of reason (whether it were reading vpon good bookes, or vpon the example of a good father, or by nature) I loued my countrie more then was answerable to my fortune, and I held at that time, my Lord to be the fittest instrument to do good to the State: and therefore I applyed my selfe to him, in a manner which I thinke happeneth rarely amongst men: for I did not only labour carefully and industriously in that he set  
me

me about, whether it were matter of  
 aduice or otherwise, but neglecting  
 the Queenes seruice, mine owne  
 fortune, and in a sort my vocation,  
 I did nothing but deuise and rumi-  
 nate with my selfe to the best of my  
 vnderstanding, propositions & me-  
 morials, of any thing that might cō-  
 cerne his Lordships honor, fortune,  
 or seruice. And when not long after  
 I entred into this course, my brother  
 Maister *Anthony Bacon* came from  
 beyond the seas, being a Gentle-  
 man whose abilitie the world taketh  
 knowledge of for matters of State,  
 specially forreine; I did likewise knit  
 his seruice to be at my Lords dispo-  
 sing. And on the other side, I must  
 & will euer acknowledge my Lords  
 loue, trust, and fauour towards me;

last of all his liberalitie, hauing in-  
 feoffed me of land which I sold for  
 eightene hundred pounds to Mai-  
 ster *Reynold Nicholas*, and I thinke  
 was more worth, and that at such a  
 time, and with so kinde and noble  
 circumstances, as the maner was as  
 much as the matter: which though  
 it be but an idle digression, yet be-  
 cause I am not willing to be short in  
 commemoration of his benefites, I  
 will presume to trouble your Lord-  
 ship with the relating to you the ma-  
 ner of it. After the Queene had de-  
 nied me the Sollicitors place, for the  
 which his Lordship had bene a long  
 and earnest tutor on my behalfe, it  
 pleased him to come to me from  
*Richmond* to *Twicknam Parke*, and  
 brake with me & said: Maister *Bacon*,  
 the



the Queene hath denied me yon place for you, and hath placed another; I know you are the least part of your owne matter, but, you fare ill because you haue chosen mee for your meane and dependance: you haue spent your time and thoughts in my matters; I die (these were his verie words) if I do not somewhat towards your fortune: you shall not denie to accept a peece of Land, which I will bestow vpon you. My answer I remember was, that for my fortune it was no great matter: but, that, his Lordships offer made me call to minde what was wont to be said when I was in *Fraunce* of the Duke of *Guise*, that he was the greatest vsurer in *Fraunce*, because he had turned all his estate into Obli-

gations; meaning that he had left himselfe nothing, but onely had bound numbers of persons to him. Now my Lord (saide I) I would not haue you imitate his course, nor turne your state thus by great giftes into obligations, for you will find many bad debtors. He bad me take no care for that, and pressed it: whereupon I said: My Lord, I see I must be your homager, and hold land of your gift: but do you know the manner of doing homage in lawe? alwaies it is with a sauing of his faith to the King and his other Lords, and therefore my Lord (saide I) I can be no more yours then I was, and it must bee with the auncient sauing: and if I grow to be a rich man, you will giue me leaue to giue

it back to some of your vnrewarded  
followers. But to returne, sure I am  
(though I can arrogate nothing to  
my selfe, but that I was a faithfull re-  
membrancer to his Lordship) that  
while I had most credit with him,  
his fortune went on best. And yet in  
two maine points we alwaies direct-  
ly & contradictorily differed, which  
I wil mention to your Lordship, be-  
cause it giueth light to all that fol-  
lowed. The one was, I euer set this  
downe, that the onely course to be  
held with the Queene, was by obse-  
quiousnesse and obseruance; and I  
remember I would vsually gage cō-  
fidently, that if he would take that  
course constantly, and with choice  
of good particulars to expresse it,  
the Queene would be brought in

time to *Assuerus* question, to aske  
*What should be done to the man*, that  
the king would honour: meaning, that  
her goodnesse was without limits,  
where there was a true concurrence,  
which I knew in her nature to be  
true. My Lord on the other side had  
a settled opinion, that the Queene  
could be brought to nothing, but  
by a kind of necessitie and authori-  
ty; and I well remember, when by  
violent courses at any time he had  
got his will, he wold aske me: Now  
Sir: *whose principles be true?* and I  
would againe say to him: *My Lord,*  
*these courses be like to hote waters,* they  
*will helpe at a pang:* but if you use the,  
you shall spoile the stomacke, and you  
shall be faine still to make them stronger  
and stronger, and yet in the end they  
will



*will lesse their operation* : with much other varietie, wherewith I vsed to touch that string. Another point was, that I alwayes vehemently disswaded him from seeking greatnes by a militarie dependance, or by a popular dependance, as that which would breed in the Queene ieaousie, in himselfe presumption, and in the State perturbation : and I did vsually compare them to *Icarus* two wings which were ioyned on with waxe, and would make him venture to soare too high, and then faile him at the height. And I would further say vnto him : My Lord, stand vpon two feet, and flie not vpō two wings. The two feete, are the two kinds of *Iustice*, Commutatiue and Distributiue : vse your greatnesse for

aduancing of merit and vertue, and releeuing wrongs and burdens, you shall need no other art or finenesse: but he would tell me, that opinion came not from my mind, but from my robe. But it is very true, that I that neuer meant to inthral my selfe to my Lord of *Essex*, nor any other man, more thē stood with the publike good, did (though I could little preuaile) diuert him by all means possible from courses of the warres and popularitie: for I saw plainly the Queene must either liue or die; if she liued, then the times would be as in the declination of an old Prince; if she died, the times would be as in the beginning of a new: and that if his Lordship did rise too fast in these courses, the times might be dan-

dangerous for him, and he for them. Nay, I remember I was thus plaine with him vpon his voyage to the Ilands, when I saw euery spring put foorth such actions of charge and prouocation, that I said to him: My Lord, when I came first vnto you, I tooke you for a Phisition that desired to cure the diseases of the State; but now I doubt you will be like those Phisitions, which can be content to keepe their patients low, because they would alwaies be in request: which plainenesse he neuerthelesse tooke very well, as he had an excellent eare, and was *patientissimus veri*, and assured me the case of the Realme required it: and I thinke this speech of mine, and the like renewed afterwards, pricked

him to write that Apologie which is in many mens hands.

But this difference in two points so maine and materiall, bred in processe of time a discontinuance of priuatenesse (as it is the manner of men seldom to communicate where they thinke their courses not approued) between his Lordship and my selfe; so as I was not called nor aduised with, for some yeare and a halfe before his Lordships going into *Ireland* as in former time: yet neuertheless touching his going into *Ireland*, it pleased him expressly and in a set manner to desire mine opinion and counsell. At which time I did not onely dissuade, but protest against his going, telling him with as much vehemencie and asseueration

as



as I could, that absence in that kind  
 would exulcerate the Queens mind  
 whereby it would not be possible  
 for him to carrie himselfe so, as to  
 giue her sufficient contentment: nor  
 for her to carie her selfe so, as to giue  
 him sufficient countenance, which  
 would be ill for her, ill for him, and  
 ill for the State. And because I wold  
 omit no argument, I remember I  
 stood also vpon the difficultie of the  
 action: setting before him out of  
 Histories, that the *Irish* was such an  
 emie as the ancient *Gaules*, or *Bri-*  
*tons*, or *Germanes* were, and that we  
 saw how the *Romans*, who had such  
 discipline to gouerne their soldiers,  
 and such donatiues to encourage  
 the, and the whole world in a maner  
 to leaue them; yet when they came

to deale with enemies which placed their felicitie onely in libertie, and the sharpnesse of their sword, and had the naturall and elementall advantages of woods, and bogges, and hardnesse of bodies, they euer found they had their hands full of them: and therefore concluded, that going ouer with such expectation as he did, and through the curlishnesse of the enterprise not like to answer it, would mightily diminish his reputation; and many other reasons I vsed, so as I am sure I neuer in any thing in my life time dealt with him in like earnestnes by speech, by writing, and by all the meanes I could deuise. For I did as plainly see his ouerthrow chained as it were by destinye to that iourney, as it is possible  
for

for any man to ground a iudgment  
 vpon future contingents . But my  
 Lord, howsoever his care was open,  
 yet his heart and resolution was shut  
 against that aduice, whereby his  
 ruine might haue bin preuēted. Af-  
 ter my Lords going, I saw how true  
 a Prophet I was, in regard of the e-  
 uident alteration which naturally  
 succeeded in the Queens mind; and  
 thereupon I was stil in watch to find  
 the best occasion that in the weake-  
 nesse of my power I could either  
 take or minister, to pull him out of  
 the fire if it had bene possible : and  
 not long after, me thought I saw  
 some ouerture thereof, which I ap-  
 prehended readily ; a particularitie  
 I thinke be knowne to very few, and  
 the which I do the rather relate to

your Lordship, because I heare it  
 shold be talked, that while my Lord  
 was in *Ireland*, I reuealed some mat-  
 ter against him or I cannot tel what,  
 which if it were not a meere flaun-  
 der as the rest is, but had any though  
 neuer so litle colour, was surely vpo  
 this occasion. The Queene one day  
 at *Nonesuch*, a litle (as I remember)  
 before *Cusses* coming ouer, I atten-  
 ding her, shewed a passionate distast  
 of my lords proceedings in *Ireland*,  
 as if they were vnfortunate, without  
 iudgement, contemptuous, and not  
 without some priuate end of his  
 owne; and all that might be, and  
 was pleased as she spake of it to ma-  
 ny that sh: trusted least, so to fal in-  
 to the like speech with me; whereu-  
 pon I who was still awake, and true  
 to

to my grounds which I thought furest for my Lords good, said to this effect: Madame, I know not the particulars of Estate, and I know this, that Princes actions must haue no abrupt periods or conclusions, but otherwise I wold thinke, that if you had my Lord of *Essex* here with a white staffe in his hand, as my Lord of *Leicester* had, and continued him still about you for societie to your selfe, and for an honour and ornament to your attendance & Court in the eyes of your people, & in the eyes of forreine Embassadors, then were he in his right element: for, to discontent him as you do, & yet to put arms and power into his hands, may be a kind of temptatiō to make him proue cumbersome & unruly.



And therefore if you would *impone-  
re bonam clausulam*, and send for him  
and satisfie him with honour here  
neare you, if your affaires which (as  
I haue said) I am not acquainted  
with, wil permit it, I thinke were the  
best way. Which course your Lord-  
ship knoweth, if it had bene taken,  
then all had bene well, and no con-  
tempt in my Lords comming ouer,  
nor continuance of these iealousies,  
which that employment of *Ireland*  
bred, and my Lord here in his for-  
mer greatnesse. Wel, the next newes  
that I heard, was, that my Lord was  
come ouer, and that he was com-  
mitted to his chamber for leauing  
*Ireland* without the Queenes li-  
cence: this was at *Nonesuch*, where  
(as my duty was) I came to his Lord-  
ship

ship, and talked with him priuately about a quarter of an houre, and he asked mine opinion of the course was taken with him; I told him. My Lord, *Nubecula est, citò transibit*: it is but a mist: but shall I tell your Lordship, it is as mists are, if it go vpwards, it may haps cause a shower, if downewards, it will cleare vp. And therefore good my Lord carie it so, as you take away by all meanes all ombrages and distasts from the Queene, and specially if I were wor-thie to aduise you, (as I haue bene by your self thought, and now your question imports the continuance of that opiniõ) obserue three points: First, make not this cessation or peace which is concluded with *Ty-rone*, as a seruice wherein you glo-

rie, but as a shuffling vp of a prosecution which was not very fortunate. Next, represent not to the Queene any necessitie of estate, whereby as by a coercion or wrench, she should think her self enforced to send you back into *Ireland* but leaue it to her. Thirdly, seeke access, *importunè*, *oportunè*, seriously, sportingly euery way. I remember my Lord was willing to heare me, but spake very few words, & shaked his head sometimes, as if he thought I was in the wrong; but sure I am, he did iust cōtrary in euery one of these three points. After this, during the while since my Lord was cōmitted to my Lord Keepers, I came diuers times to the Queen, as I had vsed to do, about causes of her reuenue and  
law

law businesse, as is well knowne : by reason of which accesses , according to the ordinarie charities of Court, it was giuē out, that I was one of them that incensed the Queene against my Lord of *Essex*. These speeches I cannot tel, nor I will not thinke that they grew any way from her Maiesties owne speeches, whose memory I will euer honour : if they did, she is with God, and *miserum est ab illis ladi, de quibus non possis queri*. But I must giue this testimonie to my Lord *Cecil*, that one time in his house at the *Sauoy* he dealt with me directly , and said to me; Cousin , I heare it , but I beleeeue it not , that you should do some ill office to my Lord of *Essex*: for my part I am meerely passiue and not actiue in this action, and I follow

the Queene and that heauily, and I  
 leade her not; my Lord of *Essex* is  
 one that in nature I could consent  
 with as well as with any one liuing;  
 the Queen indeed is my Soueraigne,  
 and I am her creature, I may not leese  
 her, and the same course I wold wish  
 you to take: whereupon I satisfied  
 him how farre I was from any such  
 mind. And as sometimes it cometh  
 to passe, that mens inclinations are  
 opened more in a toy, then in a seri-  
 ous matter: A little before that time,  
 being about the middle of Michael-  
 mas terme, her Maiestie had a pur-  
 pose to dine at my lodge at *Twickenā*  
 Parke, at which time I had (though  
 I professe not to be a Poet) prepared  
 a Sonnet directly tending and allu-  
 ding to draw on her Maiesties recon-  
 cilement



cilement to my Lord, which I remē-  
ber also I shewed to a great person,  
& one of my Lords nearest friends,  
who commended it: this, though it  
be (as I said) but a toy, yet it shewed  
plainely in what spirit I proceeded,  
and that I was readie not only to do  
my Lord good offices, but to publish  
and declare my self for him; and ne-  
uer was so ambitious of any thing  
in my life time, as I was to haue ca-  
ried some token or fauour from her  
Maiestie to my Lord, vsing al the art  
I had, both to procure her Maiestie  
to send, and my selfe to be the mes-  
senger: for as to the former, I feared  
not to alleage to her, that this pro-  
ceeding toward my Lord, was a  
thing towards the people very im-  
plausible, and therefore wished her

Maiestie howsoever she did, yet to discharge her selfe of it; and to lay it vpon others, and therefore that she should intermixe her proceeding with some immediate graces from her selfe, that the world might take knowledge of her Princely nature and goodnesse, lest it should alienate the hearts of her people from her. Which I did stand vpon, knowing very well, that if she once relented to send or visite, those demonstrations wold proue matter of substance for my Lords good. And to draw that employment vpon my selfe, I aduised her Maiestie, that whensoever God should moue her to turne the light of her fauour towards my Lord, to make signification to him thereof: that her Maiestie if she did  
it

it not in person, would at the least  
 vse some such meane as might not  
 intitle themselves to any part of the  
 thanks, as persons that were thought  
 mightie with her, to worke her, or  
 to bring her about; but to vse some  
 such as could not be thought but a  
 meere conduct of her owne good-  
 nesse: but I could neuer preuaile  
 with her, though I am perswaded  
 she saw plainly whereat I leuelled:  
 but she had me in ieaousie, that I  
 was not hers intirely, but still had in-  
 ward and deepe respects towards  
 my Lord, more then stood at that  
 time with her will and pleasure. A-  
 bout the same time I remember an  
 answer of mine in a matter which  
 had some affinitie with my Lords  
 cause, which though it grew from

me', went after about in others names. For her Maiesty being mightily incensed with that booke which was dedicated to my Lord of *Essex*, being a storie of the first yeare of king *Henry* the fourth, thinking it a seditious prelude to put into the peoples heades boldnesse and faction, said, she had good opinion, that there was treason in it, and asked me if I could not find any places in it that might be drawne within case of treason: whereto I answered; for treason surely I found none, but for fellonie very many. And when her Maiestie hastily asked me wherein; I told her, the Author had committed very apparant theft, for he had taken most of the sentences of *Cornelius Tacitus*, and translated them  
into

into English, and put them into his text. And another time when the Queene would not be perswaded, that it was his writing whose name was to it, but that it had some more mischieuous Author, and said with great indignation, that she would haue him racked to produce his Author, I replied, Nay Madame, he is a Doctor, neuer racke his person, but racke his stile; let him haue pen, inke, and paper, and helpe of bookes, and be enioyned to continue the storie where it breaketh off, and I will vndertake by collecting the stiles, to iudge whether he were the Author or no. But for the maine matter, sure I am, when the Queene at any time asked mine opinion of my Lords case, I euer in one tenor, said vnto



her: that they were faults which the Law might tearme Contempts, because they were the transgression of her particular directions and instructions: but then what defence might be made of them, in regard of the great interest the person had in her Maiesties fauour, in regard of the greatnesse of his place, and the amplenesse of his Commission; in regard of the nature of the businesse being action of warre, which in common cases cannot be tyed to strictnesse of instructions, in regard of the distance of the place, hauing also a sea betweene, that demaunds and commands, must be subiect to wind and weather; in regard of a counsell of State in *Ireland* which he had at his backe to auow his actions vpon,  
and

and lastly in regard of a good intention that he would alleadge for himselfe, which I told her in some religions was held to be a sufficient dispensation for Gods commaundements, much more for Princes. In all these regards, I besought her Maiestie to be aduised againe and again, how she brought the cause into any publike question: nay, I went further, for I told her, my Lord was an eloquent and well spoken man, and besides his eloquence of nature or art, he had an eloquence of accident which passed them both, which was the pittie and beneuolence of his hearers; and therefore that when he should come to his answer for himselfe, I doubted his words would haue so vnequall passage aboue

theirs that should charge him, as would not be for her Maiesties honour; and therefore wished the conclusion might be, that they might wrap it vp priuatly betweene themselves, and that she would restore my Lord to his former attendance, with some addition of honour to take away discontent. But this I will neuer deny, that I did shew no approbation generally of his being sent backe againe into *Ireland*, both because it would haue caried a repugnancie with my former discourse, and because I was in mine owne heart fully perswaded, that it was not good neither for the Queene, nor for the State, nor for himselfe: and yet I did not dissuade it neither, but left it euer as *locus lubricus*. For this particularitie

cularitie I do well remember, that after your Lordship was named for the place in *Ireland*, & not long before your going, it pleased her Maiestie at *White hall* to speake to me of that nomination: at which time I said to her: Surely Madame, if you meane not to employ my Lord of *Essex* thither againe, your Maiestie cannot make a better choice, and was going on to shew some reason; and her Maiestie interrupted me with great passion: *Essex!* (said she) whensoever I send *Essex* back againe into *Ireland*, I will marrie you, claime it of me: wherunto I said; Well Madame, I will release that contract if his going be for the good of your State. Immediately after the Queene had thought of a course (which was

also executed) to haue somewhat published in the Starre-chamber, for the satisfaction of the world touching my Lord of *Essex* his restraint, and my Lord of *Essex* not to be called to it, but occasion to be taken by reason of some Libels then dispersed; which when her Maiestie propounded vnto me, I was vtterly against it; and told her plainely, that the people would say, that my Lord was wounded vpon his backe, and that Iustice had her ballance taken from her, which euer consisted of an accusation and defence, with many other quicke and significant tearms to that purpose: in so much that I remember I said, that my Lord *in foro fame* was too hard for her; and therefore wished her as I had done before,



before, to wrap it vp priuatly. And certainly I offended her at that time, which was rare with me: for I cal to mind that both the *Christmas*, *Lent*, and *Easter Terme* following, though I came diuers times to her vpon Law busines, yet me thought her face and maner was not so cleare and open to me, as it was at the first. And she did directly charge me, that I was absent that day at the Starre-chamber, which was very true; but I alleaged some indisposition of bodie to excuse it: and during all the time aforesaid, there was *altum silentium* from her to me touching my Lord of *Essex* causes.

But towards the end of Easter tearme, her Maiestie brake with me, and told me that she had found my

words true, for that the proceeding  
 in the Starre-chamber had done no  
 good, but rather kindled factious  
 bruites (as she tearmed them) then  
 quenched them, and therefore that  
 she was determined now for the sa-  
 tisfactiō of the world, to proceed a-  
 gainst my Lord in the Star-chamber  
 by an information *ore tenus*, and to  
 haue my lord brought to his answer:  
 howbeit she said she wold assure me  
 that whatsoeuer she did, should be  
 towards my Lord *ad castigationem*,  
 & *non ad destructionem*, as indeed she  
 had often repeated the same phrase  
 before: wherunto I said ( to the end  
 viterly to diuert her: ) Madam if you  
 wil haue me speake to you in this ar-  
 gument, I must speak to you as Frier  
*Bacons* head spake, that said first,  
 Time

*Time is*, and then, *Time was*, and, *time would neuer be*; for certainly (said I) it is now far too late, the matter is cold and hath taken too much winde; whereat she seemed againe offended and rose from me, and that resolution for a while continued; and after, in the beginning of Midsomer terme, I attending her, and finding her settled in that resolution (which I heard of also otherwise) she falling vpon the like speech, it is true, that seeing no other remedie, I said to her slightly, Why Madame, if you will needs haue a proceeding, you were best haue it in some such sort as *Ouid* spake of his mistress, *Est aliquid luce patentc minus*, to make a counseltable matter of it, and there an end; which speech againe she seemed to take in il

part, but yet I thinke it did good at that time, and holpe to diuert that course of proceeding by informatiō in the Starre-chamber. Neuertheles afterwards it pleased her to make a more solemne matter of the proceeding; and some few dayes after when order was giuen that the matter shold be heard at *York* house, before an assembly of Counsellers, Peeres, and Iudges, and some audience of men of qualitie to be admitted, and then did some principal Counsellers send for vs of the learned Counsell, and notific her Maiesties pleasure vnto vs, saue that it was said to me openly by one of them, that her Maiesty was not yet resolued whether she would haue me forborne in the busines or no. And hereupon might arise  
that

that other sinister and vntrue speech  
 that I heare is raised of me, how I  
 was a suter to bee vsed against my  
 Lord of *Essex* at that time: for it is  
 very true, that I that knew well what  
 had passed betweene the Queen and  
 me, and what occasion I had giuen  
 her both of distast & distrust, in crof-  
 sing her disposition, bystanding sted-  
 fastly for my Lord of *Essex*, & suspe-  
 cting it also to be a stratageme arising  
 from some particular emulation, I  
 writ to her two or three words of  
 complement, signifying to her Ma-  
 iestie, that if she would be pleased to  
 spare me in my Lord of *Essex* cause,  
 out of the consideration she tooke of  
 my obligation towards him, I should  
 reckō it for one of her highest fauors;  
 but otherwise desiring her Maiestie



to thinke that I knew the degrees of duties, and that no particular obligatiō whatsoeuer to any subiect could supplant or weaken that entirennes of dutie that I did owe and beare to her and her seruice; & this was the goodly sute I made, being a respect no mā that had his wittes could haue omitted: but neuerthelesse I had a further reach in it, for I iudged that dayes worke would be a full period of any bitternesse or harshnes betweene the Queene and my Lord, and therefore if I declared my selfe fully according to her mind at that time, which could not do my Lord any manner of prejudice, I should keepe my credit with her euer after, whereby to doe my Lord seruice. Hereupon the next news that I heard, was, that we were  
all

all sent for againe, and that her Ma-  
 iesties pleasure was, we all should  
 haue parts in the businesse; and the  
 Lords falling into distribution of  
 our parts, it was allotted to me, that I  
 should set foorth some vndutifull ca-  
 riage of my Lord, in giuing occasion  
 and countenance to a seditious  
 Pamphlet, as it was tearmed, which  
 was dedicated vnto him, which was  
 the booke before mentioned of king  
*Henry* the fourth. Whereupon I re-  
 plied to that allotment, and said to  
 their Lordships, that it was an old  
 matter, and had no maner of cohe-  
 rence with the rest of the charge, be-  
 ing matters of *Ireland*, and therefore  
 that I hauing bene wronged by  
 bruites before, this wold expose me  
 to them more; and it would be said,

I gaue in euidence mine owne tales.  
 It was answered againe with good  
 shew, that because it was considered  
 how I stood tyed to my Lord of *Es-*  
*sex*, therefore that part was thought  
 fittest for me which did him least  
 hurt: for that wheras all the rest was  
 matter of charge and accusation, this  
 onely was but matter of caueat and  
 admonition. Wherewith though I  
 was in mine owne mind litle satisf-  
 fied, because I knew wel a man were  
 better to be charged with some  
 faults, then admonished of some o-  
 thers: yet the conclusion binding v-  
 pon the Queenes pleasure directly,  
*volens nolens*, I could not auoide that  
 part that was laid vpon me; which  
 part if in the deliuerie I did handle  
 not tenderly, (though no man be-  
 fore

fore me did in so cleare tearmes free  
 my Lord from al disloyaltie as I did)  
 that, your Lordship knoweth, must  
 be ascribed to the superior dutie I  
 did owe to the Queenes fame and  
 honour in a publike proceeding,  
 and partly to the intention I had to  
 vphold my self in credit & strength  
 with the Queene, the better to be a-  
 ble to do my Lord good offices af-  
 terwards: for assoone as this day was  
 past, I lost no time, but the very next  
 day following (as I remember) I at-  
 tended her Maiesty, fully resolved to  
 try and put in vre my vtmost inde-  
 uour, so farre as I in my weakenesse  
 could giue furtherance to bring my  
 Lord againe speedily into Court &  
 into fauour, and knowing (as I sup-  
 posed at least) how the Queene was

D

to be vsed, I thought that to make her conceiue that the matter went well then, was the way to make her leaue off there; and I remember wel, I said to her, you haue now Madame obtained victorie ouer two things which the greatest Princes in the world cannot at their wils subdue: the one is ouer Fame, the other is ouer a great mind: for surely the world be now I hope reasonably well satisfied; and for my Lord, he did shew that humiliation towards your Maiestie, as I am perswaded he was neuer in his life time more fit for your fauor then he is now: therefore if your Maiestie will not marre it by lingring, but giue ouer at the best, and now you haue made so good a full point, receiue him againe  
with



with tenderesse, I shall then thinke that all that is past is for the best. Wherat I remember she took exceeding great contentment, and did often iterate and put me in mind, that she had euer said, that her proceedings should be *ad reparationem*, and not *ad ruinam*, as who saith, that now was the time I should well perceiue, that that saying of hers should proue true. And further she willed me to set downe in writing all that passed that day. I obeyed her commandement, and within some few daies brought her againe the narration, which I did reade vnto her at two feuerall after-noones: and when I came to that part that set foorth my Lords owne answer, (which was my principall care) I do well beare in

mind, that she was extraordinarily mooued with it, in kindnesse and relenting towards my Lord, and told me afterwards (speaking how well I had expressed my Lords part) that she perceiued old loue would not easily be forgotten: wherto I answered suddenly, that I hoped she meant that by her selfe. But in conclusion, I did aduise her, that now she had taken a representation of the matter to her selfe, that she would let it go no further: for Madame (said I) the fire blazeth well alreadie, what should you tumble it: and besides it may please you keepe a conuenience with your selfe in this case: for since your expresse directiō was, there should be no Register nor Clarke to take this sentence, nor no record

record or memoriall made vp of the proceeding, why should you now do that popularly, which you would not admit to be done iudicially? Whereupon she did agree, that that writing should be suppressed, and I thinke there were not fise persons that euer saw it. But from this time foorth during the whole latter end of that Sommer, while the Court was at *Nonfuch* and *Otlands*, I made it my taske and scope to take and giue occasions for my Lords reintegration in his fortune: which my intention I did also signifie to my Lord as soone as euer he was at his libertie; whereby I might without perill of the Queenes indignation write to him, and hauing receiued from his Lordship a courteous, and

louing acceptation of my good will  
and indeuours, I did apply it in all  
my accesles to the Queene, which  
were very many at that time, and  
purposely sought and wrought vp-  
pon other variable pretences, but  
onely and chiefly for that purpose.  
And on the other side, I did not for-  
beare to giue my Lord from time to  
time faithfull aduertisement what I  
found, and what I wished. And I  
drew for him by his appointment  
some letters to her Maiestie, which  
though I knew well his Lordships  
gift and stile was farre better then  
mine owne, yet because he required  
it, alleaging that by his long restraint  
he was growne almost a stranger to  
the Queens present conceipts, I was  
readie to performe it: and sure I am  
that

that for the space of fixe weekes, or two moneths it prospered so well, as I expected continually his restoring to his attendance. And I was neuer better welcome to the Queene, nor more made of, then when I spake fullest and boldest for him: in which kind the particulars were exceeding many, whereof for an example I will remember to your Lordship one or two; as at one time I cal to mind, her Maiestie was speaking of a fellow, that yndertook to cure, or at least to ease my brother of his goute, and asked me how it went forwards; and I told her Maiestie, that at the first he receiued good by it, but after in the course of his cure he found himselfe at a stay or rather worse: the Queene said againe, I will tell you *Bacon* the



error of it, the maner of these Phisitions and especially these Empericks is to continue one kind of medicine, which at the first is proper, being to draw out the ill humor, but after they haue not the discretion to chaunge their medicine, but apply still drawing medicines, when they shold rather intend to cure and corroborate the part. Good Lord Madame (saide I) how wisely and aptly can you speake and discerne of Phisicke ministred to the bodie, and consider not that there is the like occasion of Phisicke ministred to the mind: as now in the case of my Lord of *Essex*, your Princely word euer was, that you intended euer to reforme his mind, and not ruine his fortune: I know well you cannot  
but

but think that you haue drawne the humor sufficiently, and therefore it were more then time, and it were but for doubt of mortifying or exulcerating, that you did apply and minister strength and comfort vnto him: for these same gradations of yours are fitter to corrupt then correct any mind of greatnesse. And another time I remember she told me for newes, that my Lord had written vnto her some very dutifull letters, and that she had bene moued by them, and when she tooke it to be the abundance of the heart, she found it to be but a preparative to a sute for the renewing of his farme of Sweet wines: whereunto I replied; O Madame, how doth your Maiestie conster of these things, as if these

two could not stand well together, which indeed nature hath planted in all creatures. For there are but two sympathies, the one towards *Perfection*, the other towards *Preservation*. That to Perfection, as the iron contendeth to the Loadstone: that to Preservation, as the vine will creepe towards a stake or prop that stands by it, not for any loue to the stake, but to vphold it selfe. And therefore Madame, you must distinguish my Lords desire to do you seruice, is as to his perfection, that which he thinkes himself to be born for: whereas his desire to obtaine this thing of you, is but for a sustentation. And not to trouble your Lordship with many other particulars like vnto these, it was at the selfe  
same

same time that I did draw with my Lords priuitie, and by his appointment, two letters, the one written as from my brother, the other as an answer returned from my Lord, both to be by me in secret maner shewed to the Queene, which it pleased my Lord very strangely to mention at the barre: the scope of which were but to represent and picture forth vnto her Maiesty my Lords mind to be such, as I knew her Maiestie wold fainest haue had it, which letters whosoever shall see, (for they cannot now be retracted or altered, being by reason of my brothers, or his Lordships seruants deliuerie, long since comen into diuerse hands) let him iudge, specially if he knew the Queene, and do remember those

times, whether they were not the labours of one that sought to bring the Queene about for my Lord of *Essex* his good. The troth is, that the issue of all his dealing grew to this, that the Queene by some slacknesse of my Lords, as I imagine, liked him worse and worse, and grew more incensed towards him. Then, she remembering belike the continuall, and incessant, and confident speeches and courses that I had held on my Lords side, became vtterly alienated from me, and for the space of at least three moneths, which was betweene Michaelmas and Newyears tide following, would not as much as looke on me, but turned away from me with expresse and purpose-like discountenance wheresoeuer she  
saw



saw me: and at such time as I desired to speake with her about Law businesse, euer sent me forth very slight refusals; insomuch as it is most true, that immediatly after Newyeres tide I desired to speake with her; and being admitted to her, I dealt with her plainely and said: Madame I see you withdraw your fauor from me, and now I haue lost many friends for your sake I shall leese you too: you haue put me like one of those that the Frenchmen call *Enfans perdus*, that serue on foote before horsemen, so haue you put me into matters of enuie without place, or without strength: and I know at Chessle a pawn before the king, is euer much plaid vpon: a great many loue me not, because they thinke I haue bene

against my Lord of *Essex*; and you  
 loue me not, because you know I  
 haue bene for him: yet will I neuer  
 repent me, that I haue dealt in sim-  
 plicitie of heart towards you both,  
 without respect of cautions to my  
 selfe: and therefore *uiuus vidensq;  
 pereo*. If I do breake my necke, I shall  
 do it in manner as Maister *Dorring-  
 ton* did it, which walked on the bat-  
 tlements of the Church many daies,  
 and tooke a view and suruey where  
 he should fall: and so Madame (said  
 I) I am not so simple, but that I take  
 a prospect of mine ouerthrow, only  
 I thought I would tell you so much,  
 that you may know that it was faith,  
 and not folly that brought me into  
 it, and so I will pray for you. Vpon  
 which speeches of mine vttered  
 with

with some passion, it is true her Ma-  
 iestie was exceedingly moued, and  
 accumulated a number of kind and  
 gracious words vpon me, and wil-  
 led me to rest vpon this, *Gratia mea*  
*sufficit*, and a number of other sensi-  
 ble and tender words and demon-  
 strations, such as more could not be;  
 but as touching my Lord of *Essex*,  
*ne verbum quidem*. Whereupon I de-  
 parted, resting then determined to  
 meddle no more in the matter; as  
 that, that I saw would ouerthrowe  
 me, and not be able to do him any  
 good. And thus I made mine owne  
 peace with mine owne confidence  
 at that time; and this was the last  
 time I saw her Maiestie, before the  
 eight of *Februarie*, which was the  
 day of my Lord of *Essex* his misfor-

tune . After which time, for that I performed at the barre in my publicke seruice, your Lordship knoweth by the rules of dutie , that I was to do it honestly, and without preuarcation: but for any putting my selfe into it, I protest before God , I neuer moued neither the Queene, nor any person liuing concerning my being vsed in the seruice, either of euidence or examination: but it was meereley laid vpon me with the rest of my fellowes . And for the time which passed, I meane betweene the arraignment and my Lords suffering, I well remember I was but once with the Queene; at what time though I durst not deale directly for my Lord as things then stood; yet generally I did both commend her  
Maiesties

Maiesties mercie, tearming it to her as an excellent balme that did continually distill from her Soueraigne hands, and made an excellent odour in the senses of her people: and not onely so, but I tooke hardinesse to extenuate, not the fact; for that I durst not, but the danger, telling her that if some base or cruell minded persons had entred into such an action, it might haue caused much bloud and combustion: but it appeared well they were such as knew not how to play the malefactors, and some other words which I now omit. And as for the rest of the cariage of my selfe in that seruice, I haue many honorable witnesses that can tell, that the next day after my Lords arraignment, by my diligence and

E



information touching the qualitie  
 and nature of the offenders, fixe of  
 nine were stayed, which otherwise  
 had bene attainted, I bringing their  
 Lordships letter for their stay, af-  
 ter the Iurie was sworne to passe v-  
 pon them; so neare it went: and how  
 carefull I was, and made it my part,  
 that whosoever was in trouble a-  
 bout that matter, as soone as ever his  
 case was sufficiently knowne and de-  
 fined of, might not continue in re-  
 straint, but be set at libertie: and ma-  
 ny other parts, which I am well as-  
 sured of stood with the dutie of an  
 honest man. But indeed I will not  
 deny for the case of Sir *Thomas*  
*Smith* of *London*, the Queene de-  
 maunding my opinion of it, I told  
 her, I thought it was as hard as many  
 of

of the rest: but what was the reason? because at that time I had seene only his accusation, and had neuer bene present at any examination of his: and the matter so standing, I had bin very vntrue to my seruice, if I had not deliuered that opinion. But afterwards vpon a reexamination of some that charged him, who weakened their owne testimonie; and especially hearing himselfe *viua voce*, I went instantly to the Queene out of the soundnesse of my conscience, and not regarding what opinion I had formerly deliuered, told her Maiestie, I was satisfied and resolved in my conscience, that for the reputation of the action, the plot was to countenance the action further by him in respect of his place, then they

had indeed any interest or intelligence with him. It is very true also, about that time her Maiesty taking a liking of my pen, vpon that which I had done before concerning the proceeding at *Torke house*, and likewise vpon some other declarations, which in former times by her appointment I put in writing, commanded me to penne that booke, which was published for the better satisfaction of the world : which I did, but so, as neuer Secretarie had more particular and expresse directions, and instructions in euery point how to guide my hand in it : and not onely so, but after that I had made a first draught therof, and propounded it to certaine principall Councillers, by her Maiesties appointment.

pointment, it was perused, weighed,  
 censured, altered, and made almost  
 anew, writing according to their  
 Lordshippes better consideration,  
 wherein their Lordshippes and my  
 selfe both were as religious and curi-  
 ous of truth, as desirous of satisfac-  
 tion: and my selfe indeed gaue on-  
 ly words and forme of stile in pur-  
 suing their direction. And after it  
 had passed their allowance, it was a-  
 gaine exactly perused by the Queen  
 her selfe, and some alterations made  
 againe by her appointment: nay,  
 and after it was set to print, the  
 Queene, who as your Lordshippe  
 knoweth, as she was excellent in  
 great matters, so she was exquisite in  
 small: and noted that I could not  
 forget my auncient respect to my



Lord of *Essex*, in terming him ever My Lord of *Essex*, My Lord of *Essex*, in almost every page of the booke, which she thought not fit, but wold haue it made, *Essex*, or the late Earle of *Essex*: whereupon of force it was printed *de nouo*, and the first copies suppressed by her peremptorie commaundement. And this my good Lord, to my furthest remembrance, is all that passed wherein I had part, which I haue set downe as neare as I could in the very words and speeches that were vfed, not because they are worthie the repetition, I mean those of mine owne; but to the end your Lordship may liuely and plainly discern betweene the face of truth, and a smooth



smooth tale. And the rather also because in things that passed a good while since, the very wordes and phrases did sometimes bring to my remembrance the matters, wherein I report me to your Honourable iudgement, whether you do not see the traces of an honest man: and had I bene as well beleueed either by the Queene or by my Lord, as I was well heard by them both, both my Lord had bene fortunate, and so had my selfe in his fortune.

To conclude therefore, I humbly pray your Lordshipp to pardon me for troubling you with this long Narration, and that you will vouchsafe to hold me in your good opinion, till you know I haue

deserved, or find that I shall deserve  
the contrarie; and even so I  
continue

*At your Lordships Honorable  
commandements very  
humbly.*

**F I N I S.**



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